1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

versely, that ashes are spread on the way home to prevent the soul's return.[20] I was unable to verify these practices.

Interment takes place in a deep grave. *Mudai* or *chicha* is poured into the opening, and other offerings may be added. At one time it seems to have been the custom to kill a man's favorite horse over his grave and to bury it in an adjacent plot, but this is no longer done.[21] According to Housse, the more grave offerings a person receives, the better his soul's fate in the afterlife.[22] So strong a hold does this notion have that even Christian Indians are often observed putting objects, more or less surreptitiously, into the graves of their dead.

After the deposit of food, drink, and other gifts, the grave is filled in and covered with a heavy log. It was explained that this is done to protect the body from inclement weather, to keep out wild animals, and to prevent witches from snatching the remains for conversion into a *witranalwe*. At the close of the rites the grave is carefully smoothed, and four days later members of the bereaved family thoroughly inspect the surface for signs of disturbance. More offerings are sometimes made on these occasions, after which the grave is no longer visited, except by those who observe Christian customs. There is no evidence of a native belief in the periodic return of spirits of the dead.

OTHER-WORLD NOTIONS

Araucanian notions of souls and spirits are seldom given overt expression, but many of their beliefs are indirectly stated. There are numerous variations of their basic concepts, but in general they believe in multiple souls,[23] and they have a tendency to equate a number of spirit-containing factors including

[20] Housse, 1939, p. 219. Also, see Guevara, 1908, pp. 263–84. Detailed accounts of the traditional rites for a chief may be found in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 395–415, and in Joseph, 1933, pp. 515–26.

[21] Lothrop wrote me that at La Serena llamas used to be sacrificed.

[22] Housse, 1939, p. 89.

[23] Cooper (1946, p. 735) said: "There is no clear evidence in our original sources that the Mapuche-Huilliche believed men to have two or more 'souls.'" Among contemporary Araucanians there is widespread belief in multiple souls as the phrase is customarily used in anthropological literature. On this point see Latcham, 1924, pp. 579–86.

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heart, saliva, shadow, reflection, and picture. They fear, for instance, that there is danger of losing the soul if one spits in the house of a stranger, who may turn out to be a witch, and they are reluctant to reveal their names or to have their pictures taken.[34]

When death occurs the vital spirit or soul, *am*, becomes separated from the body, leaving the corpse inanimate and inarticulate. Yet the body is somehow supposed to remain aware of what is going on about it. Hence, speeches are addressed to it, food is offered, and it may be entrusted with messages to kinfolk who died long ago. Furthermore, the Mapuche do not hurry to bury their dead, especially bodies of influential persons, as they feel it possible to maintain contact with the soul while the deceased is in the house. This explains why it was formerly the rule to smoke the cadavers of important personages and to retain their bodies within the home for as long as a year.[35] Once burial has taken place, however, the soul is supposed to go to the other world; it continues to play a part on earth as long as the deceased is actively remembered, especially if he is the subject of dreams. With the passage of time, when people no longer think, talk, or dream of a departed person, his death comes to be regarded as final.

There are many divergent accounts of the fate of a soul after death and burial. Most often it is said that the spirits of the dead go to *kūtralmapu* ("fireland"), a place associated with the sun; but some say that disembodied souls go to a place above the earth, *wenumapu;* or underground, *minchemapu;* or across the sea, *n·omel·afken*, or *karkul·afken*. I could arrive at no clear idea of the distinctions among these various other worlds, nor could I discover what class of souls go to each place, except in the case of witches whose spirits go to the cave or *renū* with which they were formerly associated.[36]

[34] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 222.

[35] Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 735. Lothrop called attention to the fact that the bodies of Inca rulers were long held in houses and that corpses were "smoked" in Panama.

[36] Housse (1939, pp. 88–90) said that ordinary souls cross the Pacific or disappear in the setting sun, whereas chiefs become birds or flies, warriors

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

accord with their ideas, to the agency of the devil. As a consequence we have no real record of their ideas of religion. 771

At the present time there is a great admixture of Christian beliefs and customs engrafted on the native superstitions and mode of thought, creating a hybrid paganism the origins of which are often extremely doubtful. [777]

The Araucano, even of to-day, has only a very faint hazy idea of things spiritual. His religious opinions are intensely materialistic, and he endows his deities with a corporal form. In fact, he may be said to have hardly got beyond a state of fetish worship. In the following pages the term spirit is only employed to indicate a supernatural agency, although the Indian ascribes to it in every case a preconceived form. This belief is not exactly the ghost-worship of many of the tribes of North America, animism having little place in their theories. Neither do they believe that all inert objects are endowed with a spirit; considering that such objects may become temporarily the abiding place of an invisible being, but always attributing to it a concrete form. 774 776

The Araucanos recognise no supreme being with definite attributes. They have no temples, no idols, no established religious cult, and no priesthood in a religious sense, although they occasionally sacrifice to one or other of their divinities, but without a fixed ritual, and only as a conciliatory or expiatory act. 771 776

The basis of their belief is a rude form of nature worship, and all inanimate things are, or may be, the abodes of supernatural beings, malign or beneficent as the case may be, to whom they attribute a concrete form, but who possess the faculty of rendering themselves visible or invisible at will. 776

This invisibility, according to their belief, extends to their own bodies, for they are convinced that their dreams are the nightly wanderings of their other selves or spirits, to which, however, they assign a material though invisible form. They are not invisible to the *pilli* or spirits of other Indians, and so when they dream of other persons they really believe their *pilli* have met. Thus also when they are attacked by nightmare or delirium tremens, the horrible forms their imaginations conjure up are considered to be real beings. 774 828

Their dead, when they return to this earth, generally appear transformed, but corporeal and visible to the *pilli*. This belief that dreams are nothing but the wanderings of their bodies in invisible form, and that those persons dreamt about are really met, is the basis of their ideas of a future state, as they have thus an overwhelming proof that the dead frequently revisit this earth in the form of *pilli* or spirits. In the same manner the material forms given to their good and evil spirits are to be explained. 775

If we duly remember that dreams and their events are very real facts in their theosophy, then we have the key by which many obscure and unexplained conceptions may be unravelled. It is common to hear one of these Indians relate in the most convinced and matter of fact way his having encountered one or other of these good or evil spirits, and give elaborate details of the meeting and its result. This belief has also led up to another superstition which greatly 776

Affected the individual welfare of the Araucano.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

affected the individual welfare of the Araucano. Their notion is that no one dies a natural death. Death is due to sorcery, or poisoning, frequently committed by some enemy in his *pillí* form, or some malign spirit, who assumed any shape at will, as that of a snake, lizard, fly, ant, etc., and thus operated with little fear of discovery, or became invisible, although his corporeal body none the less existed.

Death by torture was up till quite recently the fate of anyone convicted of sorcery or of having caused the death of another by occult means. This gave a great power to their *machis* or witchdoctors, whose principal task was the finding out of the sorcerers, and of the discovery of the causes of death. These witchdoctors of savage and barbarian races are generally looked upon as arrant impostors, but according to their lights they are not so to nearly as great an extent as is usually supposed. To understand their point of view it is very important to bear in mind what has already been said about the real and tangible meaning that dreams have to them. The witchdoctor, through his training, mode of life, and natural temperament, is generally a person of a highly strung nervous disposition, to whom the faculty of throwing himself into a cataleptic or hypnotic trance is a second nature. When called in to discover the secret enemy who has caused the death of a certain individual, by the aid of powerful drugs, intensely concentrated attention and severe bodily exercise, he works himself up to such a pitch of nervous excitement that he finally collapses into a state of coma or trance, which frequently lasts for several hours. During this trance, any person or being which passes before his mind's eye is considered to have been the offender and is speedily denounced, there being no appeal from these decisions. Naturally enough, this gives the *machi* an immense power, as it offers him an opportunity for wreaking vengeance on anyone who has fallen into his bad books. But these opportunities are seldom taken advantage of, as it creates a blood feud with the kindred of the accused.

As we have said, the theogony of the Araucanos was a kind of nature-worship, partaking of the principle of demonology, that is, their principal deities were all evil genii to be propitiated, and not benign divinities whose mercy and grace were to be implored. Undoubtedly the principal god in their eyes was *Pillan*, the thunder god, since called *Nguenemapun*. Many persons suppose that these are two separate deities, but after a careful study I believe them to be one and the same, the older *Pillan* having received new attributes after the Indians had come into contact with Christian ideas. At present *Nguenemapun*—Lord of the Earth—has almost entirely replaced *Pillan*, and has absorbed most of the powers of the latter. What is certain is that none of the former Spanish writers mention him, and no knowledge of him was hinted at till the beginning of the nineteenth century. *Pillan* was not only the god of thunder but was also the purveyor of fire, causing the lightning, volcanic eruptions, and the earthquakes, and dwelt in the heart of the volcanoes. He was conceived to be a corporeal deity, one and many at the same time. The chiefs and warriors who fell in battle became in some unexplained way absorbed into *Pillan*, the former as volcanoes and the latter as clouds. From this

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

belief a myth sprung up. During a thunderstorm the Indians looked anxiously towards the sky to see which way the clouds were drifting, showing signs of contentment if they were driven towards the north. They supposed that these tempests represented battles between those of their race and their Spanish oppressors. If the clouds drifted southwards they supposed that their people were being driven back, but if on the contrary they were blown in a northerly direction they rejoiced at the defeat of their enemies.

Pillan was served by malignant spirits called *Huecuvus*, who possessed the power of transforming themselves into any shape they wished in order to work evil. To drive them away from their dwellings the Araucanos burnt branches of *canelo*, their sacred tree. To their influences were imputed many of their sicknesses, especially those which were not easily diagnosed. They were, in these cases, supposed to produce invisible wounds with invisible arrows. To them also were attributed all the natural phenomena, when they occurred at inopportune moments, or brought in their train any unfavourable results; as, for instance, rain in harvest-time, blight or diseases in their crops, lameness or sickness among their stock, and in general all those accidents that they could not ascribe to a direct agency. Other servants of Pillan were the *Cherruve*, figured as snakes with human heads. These genii were the originators of the comets and shooting stars, considered to be the forerunners of death, or of terrible calamities to those villages in whose direction they shot.

Another of their deities was *Meulen* (whirlwind), the god of the winds. He was figured as a lizard who disappeared into the earth when the whirlwind broke up.

The moon, *Anchimalguen* (wife of the sun), was their only beneficent deity. She protected and advised them of any disaster, showing them their enemies, and frightening away the evil spirits. This is easily understood when one remembers that night attacks are seldom undertaken on moonlight nights, and that most savages have a great fear of the dark when alone. It also accounts for the faith placed in the signs of the moon, whose phases were always consulted in their principal undertakings. A red moon was considered to be a sign of the death of some important personage. What is curious, especially if we consider their contact with the Incas, is that the sun has no place in their religious beliefs.

Kyurwelu, the water god, or spirit of the rivers and lakes, takes the form of a wild cat, with a long tail terminating in a terrible claw. Any accident that happens to the Indians while in or on the water is attributed to him.

Another god was *Huaillepangi*, the spirit of the mist. He appeared as a sheep with a calf's head and a seal's hind quarters, and was only seen on the banks of rivers, lakes, or the sea coast. When a child was born deformed in any way, it was put down to his influence.

Among the minor gods or evil spirits may be mentioned the following: *Chonchonyi*, a human head whose ears served as wings, a species of vampire who hovered round the dwellings of the sick. If they were left unguarded he entered

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

764 blood specimens or of the gall bladder of the dead person, the human or supernatural agent that caused the death; extracting the viscera and smoking the body on a frame with a fire of the sacred *Drimys winteri* wood, which gives dense fumes; keeping the body on this frame or on a bier for a considerable time, even 2, 3, or more months until everything—coffin, chicha, food, gifts—could be gotten ready for the burial; visiting by relatives and friends who brought gifts, including chicha, drank toasts to the dead, and placed the gifts around the body; making of chicha libations and lustrations; much feasting and chicha drinking by relatives and friends; and washing the body and dressing it in new clothes.

Each family or lineage had its own burial ground near the dwelling, in a grove or on a hill, to which the body was carried in procession, on a stretcher or in the coffin. The coffin, at least for prominent men, was ordinarily a log hewn hollow in dugout-canoe shape, covered with a similar inverted dugout or heavy planking; in more recent times, a plank box. Burial, in modern times in a dug grave, was formerly as a rule on the surface. Adornments and belongings, according to the sex of the deceased, were deposited in and/or around the coffin, and it was covered with a mound of earth or rocks. An alternative method, reported by González de Nájera (1889, p. 50) for caciques, was to place the covered dugout coffin up from the ground, wedged in trees or resting on heavy forked posts.

[782] Since as early at least as the second half of the 18th century (Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 140; McClafferty, 1932, pp. 47-48), horses were killed over the grave of a man, and, at least for more prominent men, a horse skin was hung up at the grave over a transverse pole resting on two forked poles (fig. 79, from Smith, 1855, p. 172), and a lance with an attached banderole implanted upright in the ground. In the *Huilliche* country, graves were sometimes surrounded with a sort of fence made of roughly hewn boards (fig. 80) and posts crudely carved in human form were set up (pl. 153, *top, left*) (Smith, 1855, p. 309; Moesbach, 1936, p. 405).

There is no ethnological or archeological evidence of cremation of corpses, apart from the practice of burning the bodies of warriors killed in battle far from home and of transporting the ashes back for burial (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:163). There is archeological evidence of both cist and urn burial in *Mapuche-Huilliche* territory (Latcham, 1915 b, pp. 211–12, 235; 1922 b, pp. 765–66; 1928 b, pp. 206–7, figs. 5–6), but no historic record of such burial among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

[785] In some cases simple anniversary rites occurred. It was not permissible to mention the name of a deceased person. (For fuller details on burial customs, cf. Latcham, 1915 b, pp. 272–300.)

●774 **Concept of soul and future life.**—The human soul or spirit was called pollū (pallī, pullī), am, alwe, lolīñ, aiwiñ. Such differences of meaning

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

774 as the respective words may embody are not clearly deducible from vocabulary definitions, explanations, or contexts. The last four appear to denote the soul or spirit of the deceased. In Febrés (1882) and Havestadt (1883, 1:458), am also connotes a ghostly specter or apparition, for which, according to Latcham (1922 b, p. 581) pellū is never used; nor is alwe ever used for the soul of a living human being. The primary literal meaning of aiwiñ is "shadow cast by an object." The soul separated from the body was also called sometimes pillan. There is no clear evidence in our original sources that the *Mapuche-Huilliche* believed men to have two or more "souls."

764

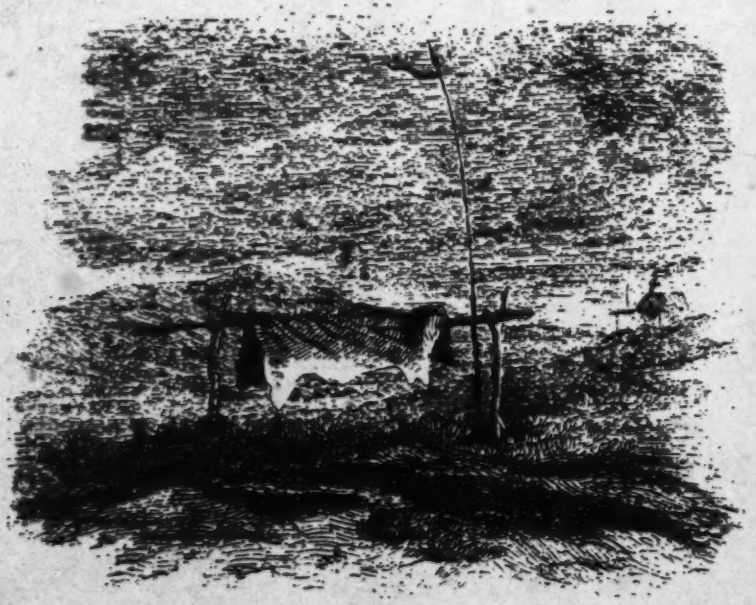

FIGURE 79.—*Mapuche* grave, with horse skin and mast. (After Smith, 1855, p. 172.)

775 In one version of future-life concepts, the departed spirits were transported to the abode of the dead by an old woman in the shape of a whale. Divergent beliefs localized the abode of the mass of dead in the Andean Cordillera, or to the west, or to the other side of the sea or ocean, or, more specifically, in the Island of Mocha. Their lot, according to one conception, was a contented one; according to another, not so good, insofar as their food was black potatoes. Our sources, both early and more recent, pretty consistently report that happiness or the reverse in the future life was not dependent upon moral behavior in this life; although, according to Molina (1901, p. 172), some natives

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

the air with the invocation: "Accept this, Pillañ." Molina (1901, p. 169) by way of exception calls the "Supreme Being, the author of all things," Pillañ. Pillañ, while in some respects fear-inspiring, was, it seems obvious, also helpful.

Pillañ, in the plural, was also used as a term for spirits of the departed, especially the spirits of prominent headmen and ulmens, and, seemingly, at times for other benevolent or malevolent supernatural beings (see infra), and even for prominent men still living.

Other beliefs and observances:

(*a*) *Wekufū.*—Nearly all evil, particularly evil of a noncatastrophic, secret, subtle, or treacherous nature, was ascribed to the impersonal power or personal being or beings called wekufū (huecúvu, gūecubu, and variants). Wekufū, impersonal or personal, was always maleficent. In contrast to Pillañ and ŋənéchen, no cult in the way of sacrifice or supplicatory prayer was offered to wekufū. Rites in connection with wekufū, most of them carried out by the shaman, had the purpose of driving wekufū away.

(*b*) *Animistic spirits.*—A number of animistic spirits are mentioned in our sources, such as Maréupuantu (twelve suns), Meul'en [wekufū] (whirlwind [wekufū]), Anchimallen arəmko (a certain green toad considered as master of waters; also known as ŋen'ko shompallwe, and other names), Epuñamuñ (two feet), Nguenpiru (master of the worms). Somewhat different functions are assigned to these various beings by different observers. Meul'en, for example, is usually reported as beneficent; Epuñamuñ, as god of war. "Maruapoante" was supposed, according to Marcgrav (1648, p. 287), to give information in dreams as to what woman a man should marry; if he chose the one indicated, she would without fail become pregnant. Some of these beings were invoked in shamanistic rites; others, seemingly in nonshamanistic ones. Traces only of a solar cult existed; oaths were taken by the sun (cf. infra); the wife of the sun was believed to be benign. (Olivares, 1864, pp. 51–52; on moon as wife of sun, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1918, pp. 45–49.)

In some localities, the puma was spoken of, not by its proper name, but by respectful circumlocutions (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 282).

(*c*) *Manistic beings.*—All in all, animistic cult seems to have bulked more largely in *Mapuche-Huilliche* religion than did manistic. The deceased ancestors, often called Pillanes, were prayed to to help in martial expeditions. Deceased shamans played an important part as helpers of living shamans. (See infra under Shamanism, p. 750.)

(*d*) *Magic.*—A great number of magical practices, apart from those followed in shamanistic rites, have been recorded, such as: Love and jealousy procedures; eating parts of an animal to acquire its qualities; rubbing the body with otter genitals as an aphrodisiac; transferring

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

764 in height, with windows and a door, is erected over a grave, a custom borrowed from Chileans. (Pl. 33, *1* and *2*.) The first grave house in Alepúe area was erected over a wealthy Araucanian man's grave about 1927; others soon followed suit.

Formerly each grave had a marker (chemamul), a tall wooden post with a crudely carved face or faces near the upper end. Non-Araucanians in all areas had seen them. I saw one in the Coñaripe cemetery (pl. 33, *3*). Today nearly every grave has a cross at the head end.

THE ETERNAL ABODE

775 The abode of the departed was said to be in the volcanoes, that is, in the pillañ. A soul began its journey there directly after death. "It took a soul about 8 days to go to pillañ; it takes that long today to go to heaven. No, I never heard anyone say that a soul hovered around after death."

Most informants had vague knowledge, if any, regarding life after death. "All I know is that we said the souls went there, but how a soul gets there, I have never heard anyone say. I have always heard it said that a soul went immediately to pillañ after death, and stayed there."

[TM] Occasionally a spirit—not a soul (informants differentiated but could not explain the difference)—not only haunts the ruka in which it lived and also the area about it, but also does annoying things, such as howling or moaning, or causing objects to make noises, and the fire in the ruka to burst forth in flames. At dusk one evening, during my visit, two boys, 9 and 10 years of age, were out searching for two cows. While scanning the country from the top of a hill, they heard moanings of a man as though he were in pain. The boys, frightened at this, ran to a nearby ruka. Here a young man told them that it was his father who was moaning; that his father was still coming around the outside of their ruka, but no longer did he come into the ruka; that until recently he had persistently come inside the ruka at night, howled there, and enkindled the fire. To end all this, they had burnt down the ruka and had built this new one, and he only moaned outside the new ruka. A neighbor was suspected of having caused the father's death by putting poison in some bread offered him—bread fried in grease.

MOURNING

766 In Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas, immediately after the body was removed from the ruka, one of the adults who had stayed behind to guard the place built a fire a short distance from the ruka, while others

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

SIZE OF FAMILIES

Childless couples were exceptions. Children in families of informants numbered 6 to 15, with boys predominating. An informant in her sixties told of large families of former years. She herself had given birth to 15 children. "There was always a baby on the way; soon after one was born, the next one was on the way." An 80-year-old woman had given birth to 15 children, all of whom reached maturity; 9 were living at the time of the present study. She added: "One couple I knew had 20 children, 18 boys and 2 girls, and all lived. That is the way it was formerly."

PRENATAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF GESTATION

As soon as a woman knew she was pregnant, she told her household about it, and from then on counted the months (moons) toward the birth of her child, which was expected in the ninth month. At three months the woman would say, "It is the third moon," and from then on considered the fetus a person, "like all other persons; that meant it had the spirit of a person. I do not know whether the child had a soul by that time, or not; no one can know that."

Some believe there is a flying snake that dislikes pregnant women, for "it flies about such a woman and whips her with its tail; it has never done so to me, but people say it happens."

Talking of pregnancy will not cause a woman to become pregnant, a belief held by the Arapaho (Hilger, 1952, pp. xii-xiii); but persons speaking of babies can expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to be reared, generally a grandchild.

SEX PREFERENCE

In all probability there was, in general, no sex preference. Some informants, however, spoke of preferences. A 60-year-old woman believed that formerly boys were preferred to girls; "or why were we always so glad when it was a boy that was born; people acted as if they were very happy about it. One can observe the same today." A 70-year-old man thought it made no difference; that boys and girls were equally welcome; the thing of importance was that the child came into the world and that the mother did not take sick. An 80-year-old woman would say, "Something is coming; we shall wait to see what it is." But she preferred girls, since a daughter helps her mother and is more of a companion to her than a son. A Trumpul

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

burned and dismembered at the order of a *lonko*. Nowadays they are simply driven from the community, since the people fear reprisal from the Chilean government. At least in one litigation in the Chilean courts, a Mapuche woman was cleared of responsibility for murdering a suspected witch since, the judge held, such action was in conformance with traditional belief.

Animal Forms. The forms which evil forces may assume are multiple and highly varied. Only the most common ones will be discussed here. All are harmful, both to humans and animals, and they almost always suck the blood of their victim. They contaminate the essence of the creature by attacking its substance, and the inevitable result of a successful attack is the loss of the creature's soul and its eventual possession by a sorcerer. The contaminated soul or spirit in turn acquires an insatiable desire for blood. The control and recruitment of evil beings is thus circular and unending.

The more common forms are mainly animals of the field and forest, perhaps with certain distorted characteristics, but there are also a few unnatural forms which combine either parts of two animals or animal and human parts. Among these latter is the *chonchon*, described as a bird with a human head, sometimes said to be the evil incarnation of a practicing sorcerer. *Piwichen* sometimes takes the form of a cock, sometimes a snake with wings, and in either form thrives on human or animal blood. *Waillepen* is described as a large beast of the forest, capable of changing into a sheep or into the combined form of a sheep and cow. It lives in the swampy woods and harms people and animals at the time of birth, causing them to be crippled or blind. The afflicted person, the victim, is sometimes called *waillepen*. Variations on this theme are innumerable.

Actual birds, such as the *pequen*, *concon*, *killkill*, *huelen*, *wuthwuth*, *juree*, *perimo*, and others are harbingers of evil, birds of the night who pass over houses or sing near them, portending misfortune and death. They are of little or no significance if seen in the daytime, provided they do not linger near one's house after sundown. Nor are they greatly feared when heard to sing in the fields or woods at a distance from the house. The day birds of evil omen are the *loika* and *pitrin*. The *wilki*, *tregul*, and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

754 house. Only the person who is about to die sees this spectacle,
795 usually in delirium. The *witranalwe* sometimes serves to guard its mistress' (or master's) animals. Its bad odor frightens away
[956] both humans and dogs. It is so used by witches and some shamans, for which reason shamans are felt to be dangerous and to have certain inclinations in common with sorcerers.

775 The *anchimallen* travels by foot along the byways and is distinguished by its glow, which appears to be floating a few feet above the ground. Some Mapuche say that only the little finger of the captured spirit (of a child) is used by the *kalku* in bringing the *anchimallen* into existence, and that this finger is seen to glow like a lighted cigarette or a firefly. Others believe that all the bones of the infant, or their essential form, are used, and that the entire chimerical skeleton glows, giving off a diffused light which appears as a white vestment. When the *anchimallen* passes a house it emits fire from its mouth and is sometimes mistaken for *cherufe*. Many lugubrious arguments result from different interpretations among the members of a household or neighborhood. *Anchimallen* and *witranalwe* desire human and animal blood, which they need for their daily sustenance, but they also imbibe alcohol and eat food consumed
[177] by the Mapuche themselves. Mapuche who have become somewhat influenced by Christian teachings tend to translate (at least for the anthropologist's benefit) *witranalwe* and *anchimallen* into Spanish as manifestations of Satan, who, in turn, they call *pillan*, in the manner of missionaries working in the indigenous zone.

794 The words *pellu*, *am*, *alwe*, *aiwin*, and *la* are all equated in one
795 or another dictionary or ethnographic study with the Spanish concept of *alma*, soul.[1] Souls in the various states indicated by these five words have different attributes. *Am* is used in connection with souls of the living and, occasionally, with

[114] [1] It is with this in mind, apparently, that Titiev cites the Mapuche belief in "multiple souls," which is hardly an explanation of the Mapuche idea. Multiple souls is a rather misleading designation. Mapuche do not believe in the simultaneous existence of several souls. Rather, they feel that a departed spirit may enter several ethereal states. This is partly a progression from life to death; partly a change in the quality of spiritual essence after death.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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ancestral spirits "at rest." *Alwe* serves to characterize wandering spirits of the dead, as in the concept *witranalwe*, a soul or spirit doomed to, or in danger of, earthbound existence, as the captive of a witch. *Pellu* is used almost exclusively for the soul which is felt to linger around the corpse during the days between death and final burial. The term *wesa pellu*, evil spirit, suggests that the soul can become bothersome and even dangerous if it lingers too long.

Encounters with Malevolent Forces

Malevolent forces are everywhere present, but sentient contact with them is seldom direct or at close quarters. When it is, the individual is almost always overwhelmed and dies. People found dead along the road or in the fields and woods are considered the victims of direct and overwhelming contact with the forces of evil. More often, however, persons merely have brushes with the supernatural—narrow escapes—and live to tell of their experience. In dreams one also encounters malevolent spirits who might capture one's soul under the direction of a *kalku*. But there are also beneficent spirits in the dream world, encounters with which are taken as a good omen. The most frequently observed supernatural agents, though, are malevolent night birds, seen or heard near one's house. Their observation, or the mere suspicion of their presence, has an electric effect in the household, and it is on these occasions that the most detailed and hair-raising stories are told about encounters with the supernatural. A few examples follow.

One night we were sitting around the fire, wondering if we should go to bed. Suddenly, the family became quite still and alert and immediately rushed outside the house, some carrying pieces of firewood. They threw sticks at a tree near the dwelling and shouted the name of a bird, *wuthwuth*. Although I ran outside too, I could neither see nor hear the bird. Presently, we all returned to the fireside and my hosts continued to reminisce about supernatural experiences for several hours, postponing sleep until almost dawn. While all encounters with night birds are not as dramatic as this one was, they never fail to invoke a restless and anxious feeling among the people, which

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The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *wesa lonko* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except